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## ABSTRACT

The seminar reported here was held to discuss the educational problems specific to gypsy children and to identify the principal elements of their culture and history with which teachers in Western Europe should become acquainted. Attended by gypsy representatives, teachers, teacher trainers, inspectors of education and ministerial representatives from eight European states, the seminar also allowed comparison of the schooling problems of other nomads. Discussion focused on gypsy illiteracy, the cultural inappropriateness of gypsy schooling, the place for gypsy culture in education, the environment as a determining factor in schooling, and teacher training. The seminar report includes summaries of two introductory addresses which deal with the schooling of gypsy children and the relationship of local and regional authorities to gypsies. Summaries of three talks given by gypsy representatives, which dealt with socio-educational problems of gypsy and nomad children and the responsibility of teachers of those children, are also included. The report further contains reports of two study groups on gypsy culture, environment, stereotypes, teacher training, and schooling and on schooling of nomadic Lapp children in Norway and of gypsy children in France, Sweden, and Italy. Finally, 13 recommendations regarding the education of gypsy children conclude the report. (SB)

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**Tyrenboth Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar  
on "The training of teachers of gypsy children"**

Dordrecht, 20-25 June 1983



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COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

Report  
on the  
twentieth European Teachers Seminar

TRAINING OF TEACHERS OF GYPSY CHILDREN

Donaueschingen  
Federal Republic of Germany  
20-25 June 1983

Report written and compiled

by

Mr. Jean-Pierre Liégeois  
Director of the Gypsy Research Centre  
Social Science Teaching and Research Unit  
Université René Descartes  
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## I. INTRODUCTION

The twentieth Council of Europe Seminar for Teachers was held at the Teachers' Training Academy, Donaueschingen (Federal Republic of Germany) from 20 to 25 June 1983. Taking as its subject "The Training of Teachers for Gypsy Children", the seminar was attended by gypsy representatives, teachers, teacher-trainers, inspectors of education and ministerial representatives from eight member states of the Council. The Director and Rapporteur of the seminar was Mr Jean-Pierre LIEGEOIS.

The purposes of the seminar were to discuss the educational problems specific to gypsy children and to identify the principal elements of their culture and history with which teachers in Western Europe should become acquainted. In addition, the presence of a teacher and a teacher-trainer from Northern Norway enabled the schooling problems of other nomads to be subjected to a comparative analysis.

An opening address was given by Dr. DISCH, from the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Culture and Sport, who stressed the importance of the concept of identity in forming the personality of the individual. After a speech of welcome from Mr KUTZLEBEN, representing Professor MATTHEIS, Director of the training college, Miss Maura ROLANDI RICCI, of the Council of Europe's Division for School Education, explained the Council's aims and action in the educational field, with special reference to the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC). She illustrated her remarks by a paragraph from Resolution No. 1 of the Conference of European Ministers responsible for cultural affairs (Oslo, 1976):

"Cultural policy can no longer limit itself exclusively to taking measures for the development, promotion and popularisation of the arts; an additional dimension, is now needed which by recognising the plurality of our societies, reinforces respect for individual dignity, spiritual values and the rights of minority groups and their cultural expressions.

In such a cultural democracy, special efforts must be made on behalf of disadvantaged and hitherto underprivileged groups in society."

She went on to emphasise the importance attached by the Council of Europe to questions affecting the schooling of gypsy and nomad children.

At the close of the seminar and in the reports subsequently submitted, the participants warmly thanked Miss ROLANDI RICCI, her assistant, Miss Yvette DONAZZOLO, and Miss Mercedes REAL RAMOS, a trainee staff member, for their active presence and constant help, as well as Mr. Mohamed ZAIANE, a teacher in Baden-Württemberg, for his availability and efficiency towards them. The presence of Mr. Ulrich BOHNER, of the Local and Regional Authorities Division of the Council of Europe, was all the more valuable in that the schooling of gypsy and nomad children is closely linked with their reception by local communities.

## II. SUMMARIES OF THE INTRODUCTORY ADDRESSES

### 1. The schooling of gypsy children Jean-Pierre LIEGEAIS

The present seminar on "The training of teachers for gypsy children" should be viewed as one of the elements of a reply to Résolution 125 (1981) adopted by the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe, on the "role and responsibilities of local and regional authorities in regard to the cultural and social problems of populations of nomadic origin". The conference, following the report by Mr Lieuwen, requested the Council for Cultural Co-operation to furnish "a thorough study of the education and vocational training problems of nomads", to prepare "information dossiers for teachers" on the culture of people of nomadic origin, and to examine the possibility of drafting "a specific training programme for teachers with a view to enabling them to teach the Romany language". And I would recall too that the problems of education were also stressed in the Committee of Ministers Resolution (75) 13, as well as in several previous texts and reports.

In the educational field, however, although the Council for Cultural Co-operation, for almost ten years now, has frequently taken action in regard to migrant workers and their children's schooling - inter alia as an aspect of teacher-training - our present seminar is the first activity concerned with nomad populations (...).

As compared with migrant workers and their families, gypsy populations present marked peculiarities which must be borne in mind when examining their overall situation - and a study of the latter is essential to any discussion of their schooling: indeed, that situation is a determining factor, particularly so far as relations with the surrounding world are concerned. Let us not forget that for gypsies all the countries involved are host countries: there is no home country to which they can return, nor any to which they can turn for aid, be it only symbolic; there is no "gypsyland" in the sense that there is a Turkey or a Yugoslavia, and hence no consulate, no bilateral agreements; the gypsy's territory is within him, and its frontiers are psychological. Nor should we forget that since the 14th, 15th or 16th centuries, depending on the country in question, gypsies have been submerged, throughout Western Europe, in the peoples that surround them, and in extremely difficult living conditions: the policies followed by the "host countries" towards the gypsies have always constituted a negation, in various forms, of the individuals concerned and their culture (...).

These living conditions, the desire of the interested groups to preserve their culture and independence, coupled with the type of schooling so far proposed for them, have meant that the education of their children has been, and in part continues to be, perceived by gypsy parents as just one element of coercion among others. One cannot altogether blame them.

Firstly, however trite it may sound, let us say once again that school policy is merely one aspect of education policy generally, which itself reflects the political trends of the day. The school, although a specific

institution, is not a microcosm that can be isolated from the rest of society, and hitherto, by its form and practices, it has rejected the gypsy equally as much as he has rejected it. To spell this out more clearly: on the one hand, a centuries' old rejection of the nomad by the sedentary dweller is still rife in the school - as a rule the gypsy child is tolerated there only for a few hours or days, in a general atmosphere of aggressivity and suspicion on the part of the other pupils. On the other hand, the gypsy has always been aware of the risk likely to be run by his children when subjected at school to the influences of a system of values which is not his own and which he has no wish to acquire. In that sense the illiteracy of the gypsy may be analysed as a functional element in the maintenance of his culture: "successful" schooling as it was still understood not so long ago, was extremely likely to result in the "successful" disappearance of gypsy culture.

Next, having regard to gypsy life-styles, it has so far hardly been possible to prove any relationship between "success at school" and "economic success" (since schooling in its present form provides no qualification for the gypsies' vocational practices), nor yet any correlation between "success at school" and "social success" (since schooling, however advanced it may be, does not improve the status of the individual in his social group, whose social values are foreign to that criterion). One might even say, without exaggeration, that the fact of being educated has often appeared - and still appears - as a handicap, a loss of know-how (ie how to bargain) on the one side, and a loss of integration within the group (ie living together and "identifying") on the other.

Finally, as has been seen in the case of migrants' children and sometimes with educated gypsy children, the various attempts to achieve assimilation have actually resulted in de facto non-assimilation, the relevant individuals having left the school system because its practices and curricula are unsuited to their needs: the child, being thus left on the fringe, is not integrated but relegated. In an effort to improve an increasingly difficult situation, the necessity of "intercultural" education and teaching has been rightly stressed over the last 10 years or so, in particular on the initiative of the Council of Europe. There is, I think, no need here to recall the principles of this notion, which have been expounded elsewhere, for instance in the report by Louis Porcher (The education of the children of migrant workers in Europe: interculturalism and teacher training, CDCC 1979). But emphasis should be laid on the extent to which interculturalism still fails to be practised, on account of institutional and ideological barriers, the extent to which it remains very much in the experimental stage despite all the panegyrics devoted to it. And is it even possible to talk of intercultural education when the different groups from which the children are drawn are characterised by relationships of inequality and rejection? (This situation led to use of the term "intercultural humbug" in the conclusions of a working group on "Educational policies" at the recent International Symposium, Cultural diversity, industrial society and the national state, May 1983, University of Gréteil, France).



The gypsies have thus not been wrong, faced with the constraints imposed by the school, to wait for better times. It is the task of those who surround them to show that now, perhaps, the school is capable of being transformed, and to work out with them a type of schooling that meets with the consent of all. If times have changed for the school because of changes in society and certain "pedagogical advances", they have also changed for the minority groups, such as the gypsies, for whom, fairly soon, illiteracy will cease to be an element of protection and independence. After having shown proof, in the past, of their capacity for active adaptation, gypsies today often find themselves disarmed, in a state of passive resistance. They have reached a critical period in their history, and at the present juncture, in this process of change, they are beginning to see education as a fundamental stake in the game. Although, on the one hand, schooling can supply the intellectual tools needed for further active adaptation to the environment, and if necessary for fighting in their own defence, on the other hand there is a danger that the child will leave school without any roots, and without the ability to settle down elsewhere.

It may be said that the whole future of gypsies and other nomads, their rebirth or disappearance depend on the direction taken by school curricula and teaching practice. Much thought and action are urgently called for, since their capacity for adaptation is fading, and there is a growing trend towards pauperisation and violence from which hitherto they have for the most part been spared. Some lassitude is also apparent among the teachers who started off, full of hope, with innovations designed to help the school with the children it accepts, and who, working in mutual isolation, often without aid from the institution - marginalised, as it were - yet found the will to persevere for a number of years.

Before leaving the broad lines of this subject, I would say that at a time when states are tending on the one side towards internationalism and splitting up into regionalisms on the other, trans-national identities are emerging, of which the gypsy is one of the best examples and which could turn out to be the figurehead for the questions of education that concern us here. I mean by this that our work may considerably enrich the general debate, for the gypsy peoples on account of the different reaction they evoke, encourage us to leave the beaten track to reflect on the problems they pose and try to resolve them. By thus forcing our hand they may prevent that general debate from lapsing into inanition.

#### Problems facing the seminar

The groups concerned are more and more coming to feel that their children's schooling will be useful, and probably essential, if they are to adapt to the societies that surround them. But the price must not be too high.

The gypsy, because of his constant immersion in other peoples, because of his business activities in the shape of services furnished to those around him, has always felt the need to negotiate with his environment. He would like to go on doing so, and I think that in our discussions we might use the concept of negotiating tools, an expression that covers both technical practices and elements for the understanding of his non-gypsy entourage and its institutions - a kind of "intercultural civic instruction". These are

tools that can be provided by his children's schooling, at a time when family education, still a basic factor, no longer seems wholly sufficient.

In principle, the peoples amongst whom the gypsies live should neither impose tools which others do not need, nor refuse them those which they desire. But striking a clear balance between these two premisses is easy for no one, and many ambiguities subsist. Those who, for example, in the name of respect for a culture, seek to isolate it for its protection make a mockery of its dynamic forces, its situation of contact with other cultures, and the constant changes to which every culture is subject. And claiming to promote the diversity of and respect for identities without conferring on each group - especially minorities - a chance to acquire the instruments for active adaptation is pure hypocrisy. Cultural pluralism becomes interculturalism only if the exchanges are based on equality. But it is permissible to wonder whether the situation of equality, thus defined, is not Utopian for two essential reasons.

First, a historical reason: has any such situation ever been known to exist? In other words, can pluriculturalism - the articulated organisation of different cultural groups - be transformed into interculturalism, which, from the very definition furnished by its advocates, poses relations that are non-antagonistic, non-conflictual, untarnished by the domination of one group over another?

Secondly, a psycho-sociological reason: exchanges between equals, in societies as we know them, subtended by relationships of force, presuppose negotiation tools - or defence - that are identical for both parties. It is then seen that, in fact, the group which is in a state of minority or weakness must borrow from the other both the arms for its defence and the tools for its promotion; for example, in the case of the gypsy, become organised in associations having a political aim, unify disparate groups, appoint representatives - all of these being forms of action that conflict with the philosophy of life which he defends and would gladly develop further. And all such modes of action imply changes in modes of being: in other words, this obligatory borrowing imposes on the borrower a similarity to the man he has no wish to become. The dilemma is a cruel one.

I shall leave these questions open, since our discussions will provide elements for reflecting on them, and the fact that a goal is far-off, or momentarily utopian, is no reason for not trying to reach it. Where the difficulties of the road ahead are known, it is best to avoid excessive optimism, which soon leads to discouragement. To persevere does not necessarily mean to succeed, especially as in our field the logic of the social problem is not the logic of mathematics: the parameters are often variables, we are on shifting sands and it is hard to pin down realities. For these same reasons we shall not, at the end of our talks, arrive at definite recipes, or even individual solutions, but we shall emphasise trends, warnings and precautions and, let us hope, lighten our darkness here and there.

If it is to make progress towards an intercultural ideal, the school, and hence its teachers and their trainers, must learn to accept others in all their difference, without necessarily questioning that difference, pointing it out or cloaking it with an aura of folklore, which would be tantamount to distorting its very nature - as often happens even when one acts with the best intentions. Though mentalities are not changed in a day, nor even a generation, we can inform in order to train, we can inform and train student teachers as well as those who regularly have gypsy and nomad children in their classes. We can stress that prejudices and stereotypes die hard, and that they are often the prime cause of attitudes and behaviours reflecting rejection and conflict and of educational solecisms. Information and training are two solid levers where with habits can gradually be changed, and two ways of arriving at mutual understanding, the first step - let us be optimistic enough to assume - towards respect. Certainly the teacher must learn how to teach, but he must also learn how to acquire the basic knowledge.

Strategically, teacher-training, whose problems are the subject of this seminar, is par excellence a means of adapting the school to the population groups making up its pupils. As Louis Porcher points out in his report, already mentioned, teacher-training is vital to the functioning of education systems and the teaching they give. Its place is at the apex and hence it allots to every teacher the role of an amplifier. And the training of trainers only reinforces once again the impact of the person trained, who by his very position has a wide sphere of influence. Furthermore, in regard to the preparation of teaching instruments, training again has pride of place: although the trained teacher may do without the special instruments, or himself create them, they cannot do without him.

In the context thus briefly sketched, the aims of the seminar are as follows:

- to discuss the situation of gypsy and nomad groups in the matter of schooling;
- to identify those elements of gypsy culture and history with which teachers in Western Europe should be acquainted;
- to make proposals for improving the scholastic situation of gypsy children, in particular through teacher-training.

This is a heavy task, but the seminar is not an end in itself. As the first stage in a programme, it may be seen as a balance-sheet of reflections and experiences, as a crystallisation of certain hopes - in short, as a synthesis for Western Europe, favoured by the fact that the presence here of participants from different countries should enable a comparative and contrastive account to be drawn up, showing various types of schooling available in Europe. An analysis on these lines seems to us to be a sound methodological approach, for in fact we are faced with an experimental situation that has been developing over the years. Teaching experiments, each without reference to the others, have been

and are being achieved. It is possible to compare them and to assess, at least approximately, their pedagogical results and social consequences. For all Europe's many peoples, international co-operation and comparison are essential, and this seminar is a privileged means of comparing the results obtained within institutional frameworks that differ in their basic policies and consequent structures.

The multifarious observations presented, taken together will allow us, as I have said, to indicate trends, but only trends: this is one of the limits to be placed on our work, for over and above the reasons I have already mentioned the need for haste in the preparation and conduct of our seminar is hard to reconcile with the wish to be exhaustive. Even though each participant is presenting a summary based on broad national or regional experience and knowledge, and we can compare the experiments tried and make proposals in a forward-looking spirit, we have no immediate means of precisely evaluating their results, or even of reporting on all of them, for that would need lengthy and extensive work and the preparation of a detailed assessment grid, in other words a strategy for research.

Nevertheless we start with some good trumps in hand, such as the large number of experiments, often of high quality because of the single-minded devotion of the teachers concerned, and the dynamism of the gypsy peoples who, by hitherto setting their faces against the school, force us to take a new look at its whole philosophy. We must perforce recognise the originality of the gypsies' situation and desiderata, and the fact that current teaching practices are often marginal in all senses of the term: all this places us from the outset away from the beaten track and avoids any serious road-blocks. It might be said that the education of gypsy children, forgotten up to now, is still at the experimental stage: thus all paths remain open, and the example of the gypsies, through the reflections it stimulates and the teaching practices to which it may lead, may serve to enrich the schooling of all.

But let us not dream too much. The stake, as we have said, is high, and our seminar should neither be a repeat performance of meetings already held in certain countries, frequently without much result, nor an alibi for the good conscience of anyone for whom speeches are enough. The gypsies have already waited too long. Hence our responsibility here is great, and this time, be we representatives of gypsy organisations, administrators, teachers or research workers, we can hardly go wrong if, in our reports at the end of the week, we make it abundantly clear that this seminar is only a beginning, an opening of prospects rather than a closure of the debate.



2. Local and Regional Authorities and the Gypsies  
Ulrich BÖHNER, Deputy Executive Secretary of  
the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities  
of Europe - Council of Europe

Relations between the gypsy and the local and regional authorities are among the most important of all those that exist between the world of the gypsies and that of the non-gypsies, the gadje. For the wandering life of the gypsy people is not lived out in the steppes or the forests. Their life is closely linked with that of the sedentary dwellers in the cities they inhabit (...), since their trading activities necessitate close contact with the settled population. Thus it is understandable that the gypsies should request - though their opinion on this sort of question is rarely asked - that their camping grounds be sited very close to the centres of towns. Clearly this request is made in the desire to avoid being relegated to some waste-land near the rubbish-tip or on the wrong side of the railroad tracks or motorways.

On the vital question of camping grounds alone, the gypsies still rely largely on roads - essentially depend on the good will of the local and regional authorities, the more so as any unauthorised camping is not only prohibited in most municipalities, but is becoming increasingly impossible on account of the expansion of built-up areas, particularly in urban centres, where there is now scarcely any more wasteland available which is suited to spontaneous camping by "travellers".

But the gypsy does not depend on the local and regional authorities only in the matter of his camping grounds. He also depends on them for the majority of his relations with the gadje world, apart from any occasional or individual contacts he may have. In fact, the only exceptions to this special relationship with the local and regional authorities are the crossing of frontiers, where the gypsy becomes subject to the authority of the state (immigration department or his contacts with the traffic police or gendarmerie), with whom he becomes involved all too frequently, much against his will, in the course of his wanderings. The latter case constitutes an exception only to the extent that the police are not themselves responsible to the local territorial bodies. It is the policeman who comes along to prohibit camping on an unauthorised site or to deliver summonses for non-compliance, or who arrives all too often with an order to expel whole families of gypsies, chasing away their caravans at any hour of the day or night from a parking ground considered to be illicit. There have even been cases of mayors, vested with their police authority, coming along in person to supervise the razing to the ground of a gypsy encampment, temporarily abandoned by its inhabitants.

This is to say that the relations between gypsies and local authorities are very often conflictual, and that the gypsy has the abiding impression of being up against an official and anonymous authority which understands nothing of his problems and treats him simply as a vagrant, whereas, in European countries based on respect for human rights, he might expect to receive treatment that respects the cultural and social traditions of the gypsy minority.

As part of these traditions the gypsy recognises direct relations from man to man, but he has no time for administrative relations based on written texts, or on forms to be filled up, which today are the essential means of communication between the citizen and government, including the local authorities, whose very anonymity at once renders them inaccessible to the gypsy.

These two factors - his many "special" contacts, with the forces of repression (the police), and the impersonal and anonymous nature of his relations with the administration - today conspire to make the gypsy avoid, wherever possible, having anything to do with the authorities, including those of the local communities. He resolves to approach them only when it is strictly necessary on account of some inextricable situation. Relations between the gypsy and the local authorities are thus heavily encumbered, yet they are nevertheless essential in a large number of fields.

A good example is the problem of education and of initial and further vocational training. The traditions of the gypsy people are oral, and the transmission of knowledge is a family matter. Hence it is all too easy to treat gypsy children as being ill-adapted to our own school system, based as it is on the written transmission of knowledge. What is more, the knowledge is transmitted in a high-handed way by some person outside the family. These difficulties are increased by the gypsies' itinerant existence and problems arising from differences of language and culture.

If these basic data could be temporarily forgotten, it would in fact be seen that gypsy children are often very wideawake for their years, being constantly in contact with adults, and that at a very early age they are frequently able to speak several languages fluently.

One question of close concern to local authorities is the siting of schools, in relation to the camping grounds (should the children be taught in the nearest ordinary schools, or should special schools be set up in the encampment itself?). Frequently, too, local authorities are responsible for organising or subsidising ancillary educational services such as crèches, kindergartens, literacy courses and socio-cultural activities, and in many countries also for education generally, from the drawing-up of curricula to the training and recruitment of teachers. They may also have to deal with arrangements for itinerant classes where the nomadic population is sufficiently large, or with special assistance (extra coaching) for schoolchildren in ordinary schools. In addition, there is the problem whether the curriculum pays special attention, in varying degrees, to the gypsies' culture and language, or whether their children are subjected to a programme exclusively aimed at the needs of gadje.

Another large sector affecting the local authorities is that of health problems and social assistance. Contrary to a widely-held belief, such problems are not normally due to a lack of cleanliness, a matter on which the gypsies hold strong views. However, hygiene may be very bad, especially if they are living in unauthorised camps or, as often happens, the sites are inadequately equipped. Then too, because of their relational difficulties with the gadje world, the gypsies will often wait far too long before consulting a doctor, and cases of sickness are not treated until they have already reached an advanced stage. And the anonymity and complex structures of the modern hospital world - which are already seriously criticised by patients from among the sedentary population, - raise many more problems for the gypsies, whose traditions include the custom that their sick are constantly surrounded by the whole family, and this is scarcely possible under the present-day hospital system (...).

Difficulties with the administration thus frequently arise at the level of social insurance, to which gypsies should normally be entitled like any other citizen; but this naturally presupposes that their papers are in order and that they agree to follow complex administrative procedures. On the other hand, if social security benefits cannot be obtained for administrative reasons, once again the local and regional authorities find themselves obliged to step in.

Although the checking of such documents as identity cards, driving licences, etc, is often a matter for the state, the territorial authorities, especially local government bodies, often have a hand in it too, in particular with the issue of such papers, and they are also primarily concerned when nomad groups are not authorised to cross a frontier and consequently are unable to get beyond the area of a given municipality, however much they would like to continue their journey.

All these questions frequently involve the local authorities in expenditure that is unavoidable, even though sometimes - such as when improvements are made to the camping grounds - they can obtain subsidies from the state or regional authorities, amounting to as much as 100% of the sums expended.

Apart from direct financial consequences, local authorities are often faced with the effects of the relational difficulties between the gadje and gypsy worlds - difficulties for which they sometimes bear part of the responsibility.

All of the foregoing explains why the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE), which is officially recognised by the governments of the Council of Europe's member states as representing their local and regional authorities, felt the need to tackle these problems in a report submitted to its 16th session, in October 1981, by Mr Lieuwen, Burgomaster of Wierden (Netherlands) (Doc. CPL (16) 5).

Other Council of Europe bodies had already touched upon these problems, inter alia the Parliamentary Assembly in its Recommendation 563 (1969) and the Committee of Ministers (Resolution (75) 13). The conference therefore had to draw up a balance-sheet on the situation of nomads, particularly gypsies, and to define more precisely the proposals and positions of the local and regional authorities in regard to the problems of the gypsy world. As the latest comer in this field, the conference successfully advanced the discussion already launched by other international organisations on a policy that would pay greater respect to the cultural, historical and social differences of the gypsy people and lead to recognition of their rights as a minority, thereby renouncing the efforts at assimilation implicit in certain previously-expressed opinions. The conference began by reminding governments of member states that, under item II of Resolution 75 (13), they had agreed to notify the Council of Europe of any action taken pursuant to that resolution. To date, none of the 21 governments has officially communicated any measures taken.

The conference has proposed that a legal instrument be drawn up guaranteeing that travelling people living in any member state shall have the possibility of obtaining identity papers enabling them to travel at least in all the member countries, and it was this proposal that led the Committee of Ministers, on 22 February 1983, to adopt its Recommendation R (83) 1 on stateless nomads or those of undetermined nationality.

The conference also asked that the rights of minorities should be more effectively protected in the European Human Rights Convention, and that the possibility be studied of appointing a mediator, in the Council of Europe framework, to deal with the problems of nomads.

Finally, it was the conference which requested the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC) to carry out a thorough study of the education and vocational training problems of nomads, as well as a specific training programme which would allow the instruction to be given with romany as the vehicular language, and to prepare, as part of its work on intercultural education, information dossiers on the subject for the use of teachers.

Despite the various forms of harassment still suffered by the gypsy people in many countries today - including those practised by the local authorities - the adoption by the conference of Resolution 125 shows that those responsible have the will to bring about a change in relations with the gypsies. This calls for a long process of indoctrination which cannot be accomplished overnight. Many municipalities have already made efforts in that direction without waiting for the conference to give them a lead, in particular by reserving camping grounds suitable to the needs of the gypsies and by trying to improve the conditions for their schooling.

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It is interesting to note that the city of Bremen, which in May 1983 played host to a congress on the subject of "Towns and Culture", organised jointly by the conference and the Council for Cultural Co-operation, set up at the beginning of this year a "Sinti Zentrum", a municipal centre open to "Sinti" and romanes where they may freely engage in their activities. Hence it is clear that local authorities do exist which have recognised their responsibility in this field. For we can hardly claim to be protecting the basic freedoms, democracy and the rights of man if we fail, in our own homelands, to ensure respect for the rights of a minority that has been living amongst us for centuries.

### III. SUMMARIES OF TALKS GIVEN BY GYPSY REPRESENTATIVES

1. The socio-educational problems of gypsy and nomad children  
Dany PETO-MANSO (France) (Secretary General of the  
National Office for Gypsy Affairs)

Before starting on the theme of our meeting, it would seem advisable to re-state a number of important concepts, failing which any conclusions that may be drawn from this seminar would be of no practical use.

1. My first remark concerns the terms "gypsies" and "nomads".

Although our people certainly have a common origin, going back about 10 centuries, they are by no means a single grouping today, but show a high degree of diversity. They are made up of many ethnic groups and sub-groups and their social, cultural and economic level also varies widely. Hence the need to avoid generalisation, and to take account of this diversity in any approach made to the gypsies.

Similarly, when we speak of "nomads" and "sedentary population", a proper understanding of the real status of each is important. There are some gypsies who are sedentary dwellers in spite of themselves - "travellers" who do not travel, and among those who have remained nomadic there are all kinds of economic, social and other situations which raise problems of differing character in each case.

NB: Participants also received other information of the greatest interest, such as 2 texts by Ragnhild Schlüter (Norway): "Gypsies in the Norwegian school system" and "The Gypsies: an endangered minority", which describes a project in progress at the teachers' training college in Levanger. In addition, Mirella Karpati (Italy) and Lambert Scherp (Sweden) each presented a summary of their countries' education policies, while Theo Wetter (FRG) described the Freiburg project. Lack of space prevents us from setting forth all this information here, but it was used by the working groups and will be found in their summary reports.

2. In regard to schooling, there is too much of a tendency to treat it as a problem isolated from the others - camping sites, nomadism, health, trading activities, etc, whereas it is intimately connected with all these.

3. Prevalent misconceptions about gypsies all too frequently lead the authorities to have a faulty picture of their requirements. Without overlooking the nuances we have just mentioned, it should be understood that as a general rule the gypsies' relations with the education system, their projects and aspirations are different from those of the sedentary citizens of a country such as France.

4. Lastly, there are a number of basic errors to be avoided but knowledge of these can really be obtained only through consultation with the groups concerned ...

One of them is to make school attendance into an OBLIGATION, as was the case in France, for example, by insisting that payment of family allowances is dependent on such attendance... Practices of this kind, which clearly show that gypsies are regarded a priori as incapable of holding their own views on the question, are a serious psychological mistake. They would suggest ignorance of the fact that most gypsies and "travellers", largely illiterate to this day but for what reasons? - have a strong desire to see their children better equipped for life than their parents, although, in view of their history and life-styles, they do not go so far as to claim that they should all get university degrees! ....

I would also say that we all subscribe to freedom of choice between public and private education, like other circles. One should beware, however, of organisations which, in the name of "free" education, engage in various forms of proselytism (eg religious groups whose "itinerant classes" are primarily designed to recruit and train new adherents ...).

#### A. Social problems

The problem of our children's schooling is a constant item on the agenda of our talks with specialised organisations, social workers and administrative and educational departments. Although we do not always agree with them about everything, we regularly see eye-to-eye on the fact that schooling is only one aspect of an overall problem and cannot be treated in isolation.

Let me summarise as follows:

- caravan sites, or the housing conditions of certain sedentary gypsies: unless some security and stability are achieved in this field, their children's schooling will be difficult, and sometimes even impossible;
- the exercise of our traditional trades: also linked with the possibility of camping grounds, this is the key to our families' solvency. In practice, we are segregated well away from the market-place, obliged to live on the least desirable sites and subjected to regulations - particularly in tax matters - that

render life more and more difficult. But until we can carry on our business in more acceptable conditions, our children are bound to suffer;

- health and hygiene: (as long as we go on living on public refuse-dumps or in slums, as long as there are no sites with an adequate water-supply laid on, proper toilets, etc, our children will be less robust, health-wise and will be absent from school more than the others;
- acquisition of the social rights enjoyed by other citizens: as long as social security continues to be granted to us in the present manner, ie remains totally unadapted to our possibilities and way of life, it will always be difficult to obtain hospital care except in an emergency etc, or to pay contributions that are too high - and so we shall be caught up in a vicious circle;
- a change in mentalities: as long as gypsies and other travellers are surrounded by prejudices and racism, they will feel no attraction towards schools where such prejudices and racism originate ...

#### B. Educational problems

Here we would go along with the teachers we have met and, like them, make the following claims:

- firstly, there are 2 possible situations: that of a specialised teacher permanently looking after a class of gypsy children, and that of a teacher having a number of gypsies in his "normal" primary class. It may easily be imagined that the problems are very different in the two cases and that the situation in each is not viewed in the same light!!

Although, in the first case, we can talk of specific training, and indeed hope for it, in the second the senses must be alive to the presence of a cultural minority in the classroom.

- The training of these teachers must necessarily include not only a better knowledge of the gypsies' environment, social circumstances, customs and life-styles, but also individual knowledge of the pupils' families, their situation, occupation, type of housing, etc. Only then can it be claimed that action in depth is being taken with regard to the children and their parents.

- It is likewise essential to seek a form of teaching that is adapted to the children, their environment and their needs. The teachers we know have all understood that the notion of strict timetables is a delusion, at least during the initial years; they realise that high-level instruction is not the aim, and that it is more useful to learn how to fill up a form from the administration than to acquire a knowledge of the history of France ... Nor are they unaware that activities foreshadowing the children's later life are more valuable than empty theory. They also know that in some families our own language is spoken and that the children must be allowed to speak it even in class.

- The teachers further ask that they may have the chance to compare their experiences, to meet together outside the academic framework and to be heard when they make proposals. So far, they have scarcely been heard at all, and we witness the departure of excellent teachers through discouragement and lassitude, faced with an administration that pays no heed to the minority phenomenon in the schools.

- There is one final question: Should we, or should we not create "specialised" classes?

We agree with the teachers that nursery-school classes in the encampments themselves are the best way of accustoming both parents and children to school attendance.

As regards primary school, we are well aware that crash courses are needed for "catching up" - but this should be only a temporary measure, the aim being to merge such courses with the ordinary classes as speedily as possible.

To conclude, I would repeat that the question of schooling must be tackled along with all the other questions and that those of a technical nature will then be easier to solve.

And I feel that the debate is now open ...

2. Responsibility of teachers of gypsy children

Juan de Dios RAMIREZ HEREDIA (Spain), MP for Almeria,  
Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

History has shown that all acts concerning the gypsies - from the first royal Pragmatic sanctions to the latest official government measures - have been doomed to a resounding failure unless supported by the co-operation or agreement of the gypsies themselves. The gypsy has no desire to be the passive agent of his history. We, the gypsies, wish to be the principal actors in our own destiny and demand to be the administrators of our own freedom.

As time goes by and we, the gypsies, become increasingly aware of our responsibility, we feel a growing urge to intervene in all those fields which directly affect our future as a people. Logically, education has pride of place among our major concerns. Unfortunately, the high rate of illiteracy among the gypsies is not confined to a few European countries. In the vast majority of nations, the gypsy people suffer from the third-world stigma of an appallingly low standard of education. Hence it is in no way astonishing that one of our most important aims is to bend every effort towards a complete school career for our children, and to develop literacy programmes for adults. We are fully alive to the fact that this is the most decisive change we can bring about on behalf of our collective future.



Education, culture and knowledge in all fields are the best weapons for the effective defence of our cultural identity. As a minority we are constantly under fire from the community at large, which has powerful means of riding roughshod over the characteristics of a people inveterately disinclined to fall in line with the majority's cultural patterns.

These thoughts induce me to subscribe to the basic elements propounded by Mr Jean-Pierre Liégeois, in so far as an educational action programme, such as that outlined in the documents of this seminar respects the right of the gypsies to settle for themselves the form and rhythm of their own educational project.

However, I should like to put forward here a few arguments concerning the responsible and vital role of the teacher of gypsy children. I shall not comment on educational techniques or the role of the teacher as a transmitter of culture; since these subjects have been adequately discussed throughout this seminar. I would simply like to appeal to the professionalism and generosity of the teachers.

#### 1. Professionalism

a. The teachers know that cultures are not comparable. No one culture is better than any other. Models which serve to measure one culture are not valid as measures of another. To seek to impose the culture of the "Gadjes" on the gypsy community, on the pretext that it is the better of the two, would therefore be misguided. The result would be - at the very least - rejection of this attitude, which would render vain the efforts made.

b. Another possible temptation - which, regrettably, has precedents in our collective experience - would be to adopt a markedly "paternalist" approach to the gypsy children. It is possible to respect a culture while at the same time subjecting it to discriminatory treatment in the sense that the human relationship is cloaked in an outworn species of charity that is far removed from the fundamental respect claimed by every human being.

c. The education of children, gypsy or non-gypsy, is not exclusively the work of the school. Parents and society itself have a decisive co-responsibility in turning them into educated beings. But the school - and thus the teacher - is the essential catalyst intruding new elements into the gradual upbringing of the child. Family life follows a course that the school is incapable of changing. The teacher cannot do much to improve the socio-economic life of the parents. Family life, with its customs and traditions, its atavistic traits and its conditioning, will continue as before, for the good or ill of its component members.

On another scale, but with identical results, the same thing happens with society as a whole. The child is influenced by the environment in which he lives. It is not only friendships that condition the development

of his character: what the child experiences every day, the conversations he listens to, the doings of the youngsters around him - these are all decisive elements that influence childhood. The school, alas, can do little to modify behaviours felt to be marginal, caused by lack of employment, injustice and a position "on the fringe".

Yet the school (together with the family and the home district) is the element best calculated to implant in the child that critical faculty which will make him free to accept or refuse influences running counter to his will. Hence it is here that the teacher can and should intervene to exercise an influence with the best chance of success. If he knows the child's family and something of gypsy culture, if, above all, he feels inwardly at one with the gypsy people's struggle to escape from poverty and marginalisation, his work can be extraordinarily positive in its effects.

If, on the other hand, he passes on to the child his own cultural patterns, his personal philosophy of life, or contrasts his own convictions with those which are the cultural heritage of the child and his family, not only will he risk sterilising his educational work but he may end by creating a conflictual situation that will confer an inferiority complex on the child from the earliest age.

The Donaueschingen seminar, arranged by the Council for Cultural Co-operation, has laid the foundations of a serious study on the role of the teacher of gypsy children. This work must be followed up in collaboration with a greater number of teachers and gypsies engaged in the cause of our people's liberation.

## 2. Generosity

We, the gypsies of Europe, are highly conscious of the basic part that education must play in our immediate future. Lack of education, intellectual poverty and illiteracy are a fertile ground for cultural colonisation, serfdom and a consequent endeavour to perpetuate injustice and oppression. Ignorant peoples can be easily manipulated. The powerful of the earth have always abused the poor, hungry and illiterate masses. Not until man opens his eyes to other sources of information, not until education offers him opportunities for choice, can it be said that he begins to cross the threshold of liberty.

We are well aware, as gypsies, that alone and unaided we can emerge only with difficulty from the marginal state we endure. We urgently need the help of the non-gypsy world. We ask for it with the humility of one who recognises that his condition is bad, but we demand it with the insistence and pride of those who know they are the equals of the others in the matter of dignity and respect.

We ask that account be taken of us. We ask that we be consulted, and that our opinion be regarded as essential on all those questions which directly affect us. The authorities cannot simply ignore our experience,

and the education departments of the various states must reckon with the gypsies when the time comes to work out educational measures on our behalf.

One day, when many generations of young gypsies have come and gone and the true history of our struggle to free ourselves from misery, hunger, illiteracy and marginalisation is finally written, it will be our duty to render sincere homage to all those schoolmasters and mistresses who, with patience and generosity, have opened to us the gates of education which, for us, are the gates of freedom.

3. *Socio-educational problems of nomad gypsy children*  
*Agnès VRANCKX (Belgium), West European Gypsy Council*

It is not desirable that the gypsy should be offered a specific education on the specious ground that he is a peculiar being with a peculiar sensitivity, whom the traditional teachings of society would be likely to assimilate to its own members, thereby destroying his ethnic identity. We are Indo-Europeans, we have race-memories of a universal culture that has even spread to the Western world. An inherent atavism enables our children effortlessly to absorb the knowledge imparted by schools imbued with European culture. Far from threatening their identity, such knowledge would enhance its value, and once acquired, could not but provide proof that the Gypsy people possess the faculties required for access to the highest functions in society.

It is by no means unusual, for you, to find that ethnic minorities other than ours often throw up eminent members forming an intelligentsia, which has obliged the surrounding majorities to recognise its intellectual potential, after its impregnation, through the medium of the schools, with the prevailing cultural ideology. We, too, are producing a growing intelligentsia of this kind, which is militating for the maintenance and valorisation of our own culture by making it known in depth to non-gypsies and, I admit, to ourselves. Our language, for example, if it could be accepted as a subject by secondary schools and universities, would be an interesting area of reference for the Germanic and Greco-Latin languages. Our intelligentsia would already do good work if it began by removing the inferiority complex which is at the root of the gypsy's objection to schooling as leading him to deny his origins and live anonymously in the adoptive society, because his race is vilified for its lack of culture, its illiteracy or semi-illiteracy - defects in which, through his very ignorance, he comes to believe himself. Some gypsies, however, do send their children to school - either because they resent the negative effects of such inferiority, or perhaps - certainly in the case of those who have become sedentary - because they are obliged to do so. Among the children a few rare souls achieve brilliance, later becoming doctors, engineers, architects or lawyers, but their success, it is always found, is closely linked with their home conditions: they come from families living in security and comfort.

The others, more numerous, generally show only mediocre results, at primary school level. True, their intellectual faculties also have a part in their failure, but this factor is not alone in explaining it. Mediocrity of intellectual talents, as we know, is not inherent in the very nature of such talents: rather is it the reflection of living conditions.

The discrimination meted out to young gypsies at school, for example, generally reflects their habitat. In many countries the young gypsy and his non-gypsy counterpart look alike. But the gypsy lives in a mobile home, a transit camp or a dilapidated low-cost tenement; hence he is always a special case, a marginal case. His home address is recorded in the school register, and so his identity is known, and the latent stereotype in the mind of the non-gypsy at once comes to life: it clouds the schooling of those who suffer from it, bedevilled as they already are by their uncomfortable living conditions. The truth of the matter is already an ancient one: "Mens sana in corpore sano" - "A healthy mind in a healthy body".

There is much talk nowadays of fully democratising education. Many states of Western Europe pay lip-service to the idea. From the same ideological standpoint, these states must no longer compel the gypsies to live in housing that is on the fringe, insalubrious and dilapidated. Such dwellings are of ill repute, a stigma on their identity, more harmful than any other factors - and since they also stimulate the latter, they prejudice the development of our sedentary groups.

Similarly, where our nomadic groups are concerned, the states should actively seek to provide them with decent camping sites, well situated geographically, properly equipped internally and so co-ordinated that the children, during the journeys from one site to another, may benefit undisturbed from a coherent pattern of education - but it will be continuously coherent only if an intelligent assessment is made of the distances involved, coupled with the installation of mobile classes and fixed classes.

For purposes of intensification (to offset the school hours lost during transit) the instruction given would comprise three basic subjects: the language of the adoptive country, mathematics and geography, the first two because they are essential disciplines, and geography because it is important for children who travel to know the terminology (vocabulary) signifying and explaining the phenomena they observe among the plants and animals, climates and soils - natural or worked by man - which they encounter.

In addition, we believe it to be indispensable - with, we hope, the aid of international organisations like UNESCO, the EEC, etc - that two further subjects should be taught: a general and detailed knowledge of "common Romany" (since some groups of families often speak their own dialect form), and a bird's eye view of our own history from the time we left our original homeland,



during the periods of the "great migrations", up to the time of the "new man" who is now taking shape through the action of many organisations all over the world.

Such projects, it will be said, smack of the utopian. This we can accept. They will, in fact, call for heavy capital investment. But, on the one hand, the states do owe us some financial assistance, as part of the recognised rights of minorities. On the other hand, they owe us compensation for the prejudices and ill-treatment from which we suffered during the last war. They are waiting for us to present them with common projects that will justify the granting of financial aid to be generously, rationally and socially used.

If all the representatives of all the gypsy organisations could meet periodically, if they had the will to give common thought to the financial, geographical and architectural preparation of such projects and agreed upon them unanimously, thus showing the non-gypsy world that they were expressing a determined and harmoniously concerted plan, they would surely win their case and obtain the necessary subsidies. For the future of our condition as romany depends on schooling; it can be effective only if it is accepted that assimilation to the cultural values of the majority societies must not harm the integrity of our ethnic identity but, on the contrary, enhance it; and only if the majority societies, conscious of our rights and of our creative and productive capacities, put an end to the discomfort and insecurity of the sedentary gypsies' housing and agree to set in motion a decent co-ordinated scheme of camping sites for our nomadic groups.

#### IV. REPORT BY STUDY GROUPS

##### Study Group I

Mrs Mirella KARPATI (Italy) Chairman  
 Mrs Jacqueline IMBERT (France) Rapporteur  
 Mr Juan De Dios RAMIREZ-HEREDIA (Spain)  
 Mrs Agnès VRANCKX  
 Miss Georgette MUERMANS (Belgium)  
 Mr Alain PIERROT (France)  
 Mr Ronald IVERSEN (Norway)  
 Mr Birk HARTMANN (Federal Republic of Germany)  
 Mr Gerhard ZEDNIK (Federal Republic of Germany)  
 Mr Horst POHL (Federal Republic of Germany)  
 Mr Alfons WALZ (Federal Republic of Germany)  
 Mr Mohamed ZAIANE (Federal Republic of Germany)

##### 1. Schooling of gypsy children

Discussion was essentially based on French and Italian experiences, which have developed on increasingly parallel lines in the last 20 years owing to:

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- better knowledge of gypsies and their culture
  - changes in the aims of the school in these two countries
- 
- a slowly growing awareness of the differences between
- assimilation
  - integration
  - insertion (France) or active participation (Italy).

#### A. Characteristics

Schooling of gypsy children is

- non-existent or temporary
- marginal in relation to accepted standards and customary scholastic success
- generally broken off after the elementary stage.

#### B. Reception

The children are received in

- special classes held on the camp sites, or
- ordinary schools with special support from one teacher or
- ordinary schools not so equipped.

In both Italy and France, the choice has gradually been tending towards acceptance by the "ordinary" schools, while recognising the interest attaching to nursery school classes in the gypsy environment, with the hope that transition to the ordinary school will take place with the help and support of the original nursery school teacher.

#### C. Role of the school

As a school for all comers, the first contact with social life outside the family, it should facilitate the development of each child's personality; while respecting and taking into account differences of physique, culture, etc.

In the case of minorities, the school has a part to play as a mediator between the various communities and should enable all to be accepted and recognised.

#### D. An adapted form of teaching is sought

- which recognises the gypsy children's attitudes,
- which would create a genuine motivation for these children through the choice of working themes directly connected with gypsy culture (eg: type of housing, basket-making, gypsy music, stories, etc) or of subjects (Romany language) or activities (bodily expression, etc),
- which seeks ways and means of imparting a solid grounding in basic learning practices: individual work, carefully balanced rate of progress.

### E. Problems raised

Differences between the school and the families in regard to educational objectives, at the level of life-styles, reasons for learning, views on the children's future: the establishment of links between the school and the gypsy family is an imperative need. This is the new role of the teacher, whether or not a specialist, whose knowledge of the child's living environment must enable him to prepare an individual educational and scholastic plan.

The lack of comprehension shown by the ordinary population vis-a-vis the schooling of gypsy children is an established fact. The question of the percentage of such pupils in an ordinary class has been raised.

On this point, the school should perhaps encourage meetings on its premises for discussions between gypsy and non-gypsy parents, where a generally agreed curriculum could be worked out, specifying not only the broad aims but also intercultural activities, in which any families so wishing could take part.

### F. Remarks

Norway's experience with the schooling of Lapp children highlights the importance both of school attendance and of learning the Norwegian language at the earliest possible stage, as well as the difficulty of teaching Lappish, since there are few books in that language.

We note that, despite diversities, the schooling of minorities has many points in common.

During our plenary meetings we were able to appreciate the experience of Sweden and Norway in matters of schooling.

## 2. Gypsy culture

In view of the dimensions of the subject, the group did not presume to discuss in detail the various aspects of what makes up a people's life, such as

- language, history,
- oral and technical traditions, ways of living,
- artistic creation (manual, musical, etc)

or the broad principles of the gypsy system of values. This would have meant taking account of the diversity of the groups having a share in that culture, and several seminars would not have sufficed.

Since it was clear that many misconceptions or imperfect knowledge of gypsy culture existed, because the work of historians is often larded with stereotypes, it seemed necessary that it should be better known by teachers, local authorities and the majority population.

Having previously emphasised the school's role as a mediator, we shall discuss the following points:

1. the teachers' knowledge of gypsy culture, by means of:

- information to trainee-teachers at training college level
- recruitment of gypsy teachers
- in-service training of those engaged in this field
- distribution of the fullest possible documentation, prepared with the help of the gypsies themselves.

Here the Council of Europe can play a useful role of distribution by assisting the training centres

- to establish personal contacts with the families concerned - a valuable source, coupled with
- special attention to the needs of gypsy children,

in order to

- ascertain the requisite scope of the teaching imparted, ie recognise the gypsy child in the light of his existence generally and lead him to acquire the basic elements of learning as a reflection of his own experiences and of intercultural practices, and
- associate gypsy and non-gypsy parents in the activities of the school, and enlist their support in ensuring that schooling under the ordinary system does not mean destruction of gypsy culture or the child's very identity;

2. how to encourage intercultural exchanges at school?

- by efforts to improve knowledge of the child, his environment and interests,
- by respecting the obvious differences and explaining to the class-group the customs and value systems concerned so as to illuminate the virtues of each and place majority and minority cultures on an equal footing,
- by the exercise of consciousness-forming activities common to both population groups, and the establishment of comparisons through positive references to each group (eg dwelling arrangements, marriage, travel, history, economic life, etc).

3. Environment

We have given some thought here to the administrative and socio-economic aspects of gypsy life and have seen that their qualitative variations have positive or negative effects on the child's life at school.



We have therefore tried to define favourable environmental conditions and make proposals for improving them still further.

First requirement: living conditions

- A gypsy's housing must be decent, as is that of other citizens.

Reference is here made to Resolution 125, which asks the local and regional authorities to take the necessary measures to provide nomads with camping and housing facilities.

- Sanitary and social assistance must be effective.

Second requirement: opportunities for trade

- right to work in the area and engage in traditional activities
- support towards becoming economically independent, including facilities for loans
- if desired, the provision of premises or other resources by the local authorities
- granting of requests for vocational training of the young,

Third requirement: a welcome by the surrounding population, and the right to be heard

It is desirable that teams of animateurs, comprising gypsies, friends of the gypsies, teachers, social workers, representatives of municipal government, etc, should facilitate the gypsies' life, not in a spirit of assistance but of a contribution to their business and cultural activity. Such teams should become a universal phenomenon.

Fourth requirement: easier access to schooling

Administrative impediments, especially to the registration of children in schools, should, in our view, be lifted.

The issue of a school card has been proposed, which would contain only strictly necessary information (eg certifying that the child has been vaccinated) and would suffice to open the school gates to the children.

It is also suggested that within the appropriate department one teacher should be specifically responsible for solving registration problems and serve as a link and source of information between the various schools that receive gypsy children.

#### 4. Stereotypes

The study group felt this to be a serious problem, since the propagation of negative images over the centuries is harmful to the respect owed to gypsies as persons and to relations between the communities, and also finds a negative echo in regard to the schooling of the gypsy child.

Certain solutions were mentioned that would help to dispel preconceived notions and prejudices:

- better knowledge of gypsy culture;
- a personal effort by the gypsies themselves, through growing awareness of their role, behaviour and an improved standard of education;
- importance of the communication media in furnishing genuine knowledge of the gypsy world:
  - . books
  - . audio visual (TV, cinema).

It was agreed that much work was needed in the last two fields, both by governments and by ministries of education, if gypsies, and especially their children, were to be accorded the positive image they had the right to expect.

It is essential, and urgent, for the gypsies to explain their own point of view, in order not only to improve communication with the majority populations but also to dispel the stereotyped images that impair mutual understanding, and to publicise efforts made in this sense by the gypsy communities themselves.

#### 5. Training

A broad discussion on teacher-training in Norway, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy threw considerable light on various types of training:

- initial or basic training
- in-service training
- specialised training (teachers for adaptation or support)
- training for children of foreign origin,

whether dispensed in training colleges or in the schools themselves.

- We could not but note that no provision was made under existing training schemes to help teachers faced with gypsy children in their classes.

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- Nor did we find any evidence that there is, at present, any gypsy teacher in our countries holding the necessary diplomas for the instruction of gypsy children.

- We noted with interest, however, various experiments now in progress which show the beneficial effects on children of recruiting, as kindergarten helpers or school service employees, persons belonging to the same culture as the children (Magrebis, Turks etc). We found that nothing similar existed in the case of gypsies.

We therefore put forward the following desiderata:

1. As regards the training of ordinary teachers:

- that intercultural instruction be given, from the outset of basic training, to convey a knowledge of the different minorities and lead up to recognition of linguistic facts, at the present time particularly for the benefit of support teachers;

- that training in socio-educational animation be given;

- that the first steps be taken towards individual tuition, and

- that teachers learn to work as a team: with the other teachers, gypsy parents and third parties.

2. As regards the gypsies:

- that gypsy teachers be recognised as having priority in the instruction of gypsy children;

- that the Romany tongue enjoy the same status as regional languages;

- that auxiliary school staff include persons of gypsy culture and that everything be done to promote the training of such staff.

Study Group 2

*Miss Silvia FARDELLA (Italy), Chairman*

*Mr André THIEBAUT (France), Rapporteur*

*Mrs Gerda BRUNEEL (Belgium)*

*Mr Sean GLENNANE (Ireland)*

*Mr Svein PEDERSEN (Norway)*

*Mrs Brigitte AICHER (Federal Republic of Germany)*

*Mr Peter WEIN (Federal Republic of Germany)*

*Mr Theo VETTER (Federal Republic of Germany)*

*Mrs Annelis BLUNCK (Federal Republic of Germany)*

*Mrs Ingrid SCHRUMPF (Federal Republic of Germany)*

*Mr Lambert SCHERP (Sweden)*

*Miss Mercedes REAL (Spain)*

### Schooling

#### Description and analysis of situations

##### Svein PEDERSEN: Schooling of nomadic Lapp children in Norway

School attendance is 100%, since it is obligatory. Most of the sedentary Lapp children are taught in mixed classes and follow the standard curriculum.

The children of nomad Lapps (who spend the winter in the interior of the country and the summer among the coastal pasture-lands) are taken as boarders throughout the school year and see their parents only at weekends (in winter) and during the summer holidays (the schools are situated inland).

Their education has evolved: formerly aimed at assimilation, it now takes Lappish culture into account.

Schooling is divided into three stages over a period of nine years (ages 7 to 16). There are from 20 to 30 children per class. There are no intermediate examinations, but there is a final examination identical to that taken by all Norwegian children (with the Lapp language as an optional subject).

As the amount of pasture-land available is limited, some of the Lapp children necessarily migrate southward or to the northern towns. They must therefore learn how to choose one of two modes of life: to remain in the rural north while transferring at intervals to the south, or to migrate to the northern towns and compete for jobs with the Norwegians. In practice it is found today that the difficulties they experience have their origin not so much in the language problem as in the fact that they are of a different culture; a different reference system.

The linguistic policy followed is to strike a balance between Lapp and Norwegian. During the earlier school years instruction is given with Lapp as the sole vehicular language, but this is gradually faded out in favour of Norwegian (except, of course, for the study of the Lapp language, which continues) - although, in practice, when the teacher is himself a Lapp he uses his own tongue for other subjects too, and, in general, its share is on the increase: textbooks, for example, are in Norwegian but some are now beginning to be written in Lappish.

##### Sean GLENNANE: Schooling of "Travellers" children in Ireland

Numerically, these children fall into three groups: there are 2,000 in nursery schools, 4,000 in primary and 2,000 in secondary schools. But at the primary stage their attendance is very irregular, and only 10% regularly



engage in secondary studies. A marked influence is wielded by Catholic religious rites: once first communion and confirmation are closely linked to school attendance - once these are acquired, attendance shows a noticeable decrease.

The aims of this schooling oscillate between a desire to respect another culture and that of providing the children with the means of becoming full members of society. Eighty specialised "catch-up" classes are in operation, each capable of taking 12 pupils (instead of 30-40 in "normal" classes).

The curriculum is appropriately modified: more time is spent on "the three Rs", and there is a practical slant towards future working life (trading, scrap-dealing, repair of machines). For the primary and post-primary stages the programme is laid down by a teachers' committee. The imparting of moral values comes up against contradictions with the system of values current in the family environment.

Finally, in order to save time and concentrate on essentials, Gaelic is not taught.

For the last three years, itinerant teachers have been working in the camping grounds and their neighbourhoods (Dublin, Cork, Limerick). They attend annual training courses. The need to adapt the instruction given seems clear, but there are many difficulties: local communities are hostile, since the most frequent image of "Travellers" is linked with theft, drunkenness, filthy habits, petty delinquency and competition with local traders.

The drug problem, alcoholism and parents' permissiveness are exacerbated by an increase in gypsy population (7,500 in 1960, 15,000 in 1980, and an estimated 21,000 by 1986).

#### Lambert SCHERF: Schooling of gypsy children in Sweden

Policy on ethnic minorities is governed by three principles:

- equality,
- choice between culture of origin/Swedish culture,
- right to vote in municipal elections.

Since 1970, all the 6,000 gypsies in Sweden have been sedentary. School is obligatory and, as a rule, there is 100% attendance.

Language: one half (1,500) originally came from Finland, have forgotten their own tongue and speak Finnish. The other half speak Romany, using two dialectal forms, Lovara and Kalderash. At school the mother-tongue is used, with the addition of a few hours of Swedish per week (both instruction in Swedish and its use as a vehicular language). This approach is based on the conviction that for the acquisition of knowledge a detailed acquaintance with one language is essential.

For those learning the gypsy tongue the teachers are themselves Romanies, and Romany manuals have been published. Two books are also worthy of note: We, the Gypsies (for the gypsies themselves) and The Gypsies (for the non-gypsies).

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André THIEBAUT: Schooling of gypsy children in France

Since the official texts leave a wide margin of interpretation, classes, teaching methods and aims are extremely varied.

For us, as an information and training centre for teachers of minority socio-cultural groups (CEFISEM), the problem of gypsy children comes in addition to that of the children of migrant, refugee or underprivileged French workers.

From the standpoint of socio-cultural analysis, the pattern is one of a relationship of forces between a dominant culture and minority French cultures, and of the school's identification with the dominant culture. Within that pattern an intercultural approach to teaching can be visualised as having three levels, easily understood by teachers but rarely found to exist in practice:

1. changing existing hierarchies into accepted differences,
2. maintenance of common objectives, while giving proper attention to the child's own experience as an aid to the acquisition of common know-how and self-assertion,
3. diversification of objectives (both common and individual) and individual access channels.

At present it would seem that progress depends more on transforming isolated achievements into a coherent pattern, once we accept the idea that the principles of intercultural pedagogics still have to be applied in the case of the gypsies.

Silvia FARDELLA: Gypsies in the Italian school system

After an initial phase, starting in 1965/66, when special classes were formed, and a period of transition classes beginning in 1971/72, a clear decision was taken in 1981/82 in favour of integrated classes, an additional teaching post being created whenever the number of gypsy children in the school exceeded six.

These decisions form part of a general effort to take account of individual and social differences and to prevent their being translated into social inequalities.

The factual situation may be summarised as follows:

- there is a correlation between social marginalisation and scholastic marginalisation,
- no account is taken of the child's real degree of maturity (with reference to his age as shown in civil status documents),
- school traditions, together with ideological prejudices, tend to hamper teaching methods that take gypsy culture into account,
- the rigidity of the school system renders it ill-adapted to the aims desired,
- teachers are insufficiently trained,

and it is therefore felt desirable that:

- all agencies concerned in education should collaborate in tackling the problem as a whole,
- they should work together with gypsy families, in the interests of better reciprocal knowledge,
- studies of the Romany tongue should be made and its existence acknowledged in the schools,
- a school report book should be introduced so as to follow up the progress made by nomad children.

### Gypsy culture

The initial problem here is to find out who is willing to talk about this subject. In Ireland, teachers are acquainted with it, but do not themselves come from the gypsy milieu. In Freiburg, there is no gypsy teacher, the parents refuse to take part in school life as co-educators, and the children are unwilling to supply any information, in deference, it appears, to certain taboos. But an active teaching policy, the fight against prejudices, adaptation of curriculum content and definition of the necessary capacities all require a good knowledge of the culture of origin.

The gypsies here present consider it important to fix a threshold that must be respected: it should be understood that over and beyond the common desire of all human beings to preserve their private lives we are faced with an extremely ancient defence mechanism. What is in fact expected of the school is that it should confer on the children a means of getting the best out of their culture instead of trying to do it for them. The gypsies' history, like their language, should be transmitted to them by members of their own race. Essentially, the school should provide the gypsies with the weapon available to other citizens: basic instruction (eg there are 425,000 Spanish gypsies, 75% of them illiterate). A comparison with the Jewish people amply demonstrates that the existence of their culture depends on financial resources, political power (whether or not they have any) and their intellectuals (who may or may not exist among them).

As regards the search for information, the gypsy participants in this seminar emphasise the importance of the type of relationship that must be created. If the interest shown in the gypsies springs from religious or political intentions, there will be no communication, but if it results from individual choice, from a sympathetic approach to their world, the implied respect for them will produce the information sought.

There is abundant literature on the question, but it is often based on second-hand data. Certain works written by gypsies are useful sources. Here the Council of Europe has an important part to play. Nevertheless, we can hardly expect it to take on the role of a publishing house.

So far as terminology is concerned, it is noted that the repugnance felt by the Germans in particular at the use of the term "gypsy" (Zigeuner) is linked with the pejorative meaning attached to it, with the bad conscience it awakens. But, precisely for that reason, it is urged that we should persevere in using the term (and its equivalents) in an endeavour to change its connotations.

In conclusion, as progress is made towards recognition of the gypsy phenomenon, the need to work fast must not lead to our forgetting one essential point: participation by the gypsies themselves in the promotion of their culture. The gypsies, it is emphasised, are not alone in opposing the dominant culture: other minorities (regional ones in particular) are also acquainted with this type of relationship. It is hence up to the gypsies to have a share in bringing about a change.

### Environment

Two cases have been mentioned where the schooling of gypsies or their use of other educational resources are influenced by regulations. In Sweden, for literacy and vocational training courses lasting 144 weeks, adult gypsies receive 165 kroner (less tax) per day. Attendance is satisfactory.

In Norway, the parents are fined in the event of unjustified absence of their children from school. Attendance is in fact very high, but this is due to the fact that the entire population concerned is in favour of schooling.

Living conditions are cited as a major factor in education; they often create an image in the other children and in the teachers, which, along with consequent changing attitudes and aspirations in the gypsy child, has a determining effect.

More generally, the fact that the policy of providing camping-grounds reduces the possibilities of travel is not always uninteresting: it can sometimes be viewed as an intention to eradicate one of the characteristics of a marked cultural identity - namely a strong resistance to degradation processes; more often than not it leads to rejection of the school.

It is possible, of course, to be sedentary and yet remain a gypsy. However - a not unimportant point - it is precisely with the sedentary breed that the powers-that-be can most easily deal, since there they find some degree of organisation (by delegating for instance) and existence patterns enabling the individuals to be fitted logically into the institutional framework.

Be that as it may, everything must be done to abolish one of the most important causes of the precarious nature of the gypsy condition. It has been observed that the text of Recommendation 75 (13), transmitted by the Council of Europe to a Ministry of the Interior and communicated to the gypsies and the local authorities, has not served to prevent repeated expulsions. It therefore seems essential that the terms of this text be reiterated and strengthened.

### Stereotypes and prejudices

Here there are two complementary aspects that must be constantly borne in mind:

- The reality of gypsy life is seen as differing from that of the dominant society and possibly as being in opposition to it (eg a community of beggars), but this is a notion that needs to be re-thought, to be described and explained in its socio-economic and cultural context.



- Certain received ideas, prejudices and patterns exist whose fictitious character needs to be publicised, in order to show the part they play in the workings of society.

This is primarily a task for the teachers, who will of course have the best chance of succeeding in it if they co-operate with the gypsies themselves. Meetings attended by the latter, the local authorities and suburban or village residents are one of the most effective ways of solving any problem posed by the presence of an extraneous population group.

### Teacher-training

This is one of the elements of a general education programme which we consider important:

- . for the proper functioning of the various bodies charged with concertation, in preparation for team work;
- . for imparting a knowledge of the gypsy milieu, so that practising teachers may take it into account even when it differs greatly from their own;
- . at linguistic level, for providing basic information such as the status of Romany and the relation between language and culture.

- As all the teachers will probably find themselves working in an intercultural situation, interest would seem to attach to the following themes:

- . other systems of teaching and their psychological bases, other systems of communication (non-verbal);
- . elements of ethnology, anthropology and sociology, not designed to provide complete information about the environments concerned, but to induce some degree of familiarity with concepts and methodologies that will be utilized later on;
- . the necessary attitudes and tools for teaching the official language of the school as a second language, which it actually is for some of the pupils;
- . the need for a genuine dialogue with parents coming from minority socio-cultural groups (the conditions for such dialogue never exist a priori);
- . intercultural teaching as a means of taking account of differences arising from membership of a minority socio-cultural group.

- In terms of initial training, all these should lay the foundation for the effective in-service training of the teachers, including:

- . elementary knowledge of cultural minorities present in the area;
- . examples of opportunities for organising a school that is "different" both in its internal operation and in its relations with the environment (support classes, transition classes or reorganisation of the system).

Fundamentally, the aim of the work must constantly be to bring about a change in attitudes linked with the dominant ideology, so that the desired conversion of the educational system may become possible.

#### V. SUMMARY BY THE RAPPORTEUR

##### General considerations

The broad lines of this week's discussions have pointed especially to the following facts:

- a. - the schooling of gypsies represents a serious problem: a Spanish study has shown that 75% of them are illiterate, and the position is the same in many other states;
- b. - this situation is serious by its very nature: nowhere does it meet the wishes of those concerned or correspond to respect for their culture; gypsy children are rejected by the other pupils or by the school itself. In many countries the school in its present form, structures and teaching practices is not yet ready to accept gypsies, the more so as its reception of other children often leaves much to be desired. Here I would mention one of the findings of a UNESCO report published a few years ago. The subject is a worldbalance-sheet of education, whose authors state that while endeavouring to remain objective they have been unable to avoid some criticism. We read, for example, that in the school as at present constituted "a child or an adolescent requires uncommon powers, an exceptional talent for escapism, or perhaps even a thorough-going impermeability, if he is to retain intact that curiosity and sense of invention which are the essential faculties of the human spirit" (Apprendre à être, UNESCO-Fayard, 1972);
- c. - however, the school is undergoing a process of change. This is not the place to analyse the reasons. But, on the one hand, the trend towards interculturalism results in an evolution which is now beginning to be felt; on the other, achievements of particular interest to gypsy children show that good will, linked with an "open door" policy, will ultimately change the school situation: a good example is Norway, which for 200 gypsies has done more in the way of teacher-training, better teaching materials and parent-participation than many other countries which have a thousand times more gypsies left to their own devices;

- d. - changes in his living conditions, especially in the socio-economic field; are obliging the gypsy, if he desires to continue as before, to adapt himself actively and speedily, with the aid of instruments that the school can supply;
- e. - the parents, now more and more alive to this situation, have a keen desire to see their children put in possession of these instruments: "this is an absolute necessity", according to Juan de Dios Ramirez Heredia.

Schooling: description and analysis of the situation

Up to the 1970s the situation showed some degree of dichotomy:

- either there was no schooling at all, or it was dispensed in very bad conditions;
- or else it took place in so-called "specialised" classes, which were not always, as their name implied, specially adapted.

Today, agreement appears to exist, on the part of both parents and teachers, that gypsy children should attend the same school, and even the same class, as other children. The underlying idea is to remove them from their marginal status for the greater mutual benefit of all the pupils concerned.

But

- complementary and specialised "support" teaching is always asked for,
- pre-school teaching can be provided only in a specially-designed structure,
- certain pre-conditions must be fulfilled if the school is to create the atmosphere for interculturalism - eg the training and information of the teachers (otherwise, how could they understand and make use of elements of the children's culture?), or information supplied to the children and their parents (gypsy and non-gypsy) to avoid setting in motion processes of conflict and rejection,
- a realistic approach counsels against the short-term abandonment of specialised classes as long as the conditions mentioned above do not exist, since the "ordinary" schools as yet offer neither the quality of teaching nor the respect for gypsy culture which such classes can provide, nor the essential flexibility of discipline together with some flexibility of time-tables,
- schooling of nomad children calls for an adapted form of reception (caravan-schools, a school situated on or near the camping grounds, and follow-up arrangements - particularly a report-book - for children who often move from one place to another),

- intercultural education, if badly interpreted or badly directed, may be full of ambiguities: if there is one school for all it may soon become a means of producing uniformity and denying existing differences, in the name of equality.

The need for regular contacts between teachers and the pupils' parents has been much stressed. They should lead to a better understanding of the child through mutual acquaintance, and to participation by the parents in school activities. In the view of the gypsy representatives here, it is the duty and responsibility of the parents to play their part in this relationship, and to develop their pride in being gypsies.

As regards the aims of the school, members of the seminar were agreed that it should provide technical aid - tools for the child's knowledge and advancement that are of practical and immediate use, possibly by-passing the traditional and overblown learning of "the 3 Rs". As Dany Peto-Manso says, "it is more useful to learn how to fill up a common form from the administration than to acquire a knowledge of the history of France", and "activities foreshadowing the children's later life are more valuable than empty theory". In that sense, it has been emphasised here that teaching programmes prepared from a purely theoretical angle do not correspond to real experience, linguistic or other, and are inadequate.

Gypsy culture: its essential nature and how to make the most of it

- a. The gypsy peoples are of infinite variety. Hence it is nowhere possible to generalise: few elements can be proposed that are globally applicable - and this fact must be taken into account both by the school as an institution and by the teaching it dispenses. Gypsy culture is not, like that of other children, a "culture of origin", euphemistically referred back to some remote past: it is a present-day culture that is part of everyday existence.
- b. As a mark of respect for the learner, there is more and more talk nowadays about teaching centred on his requirements. Logically, this should lead to the establishment of a number of priorities, in particular:
  - the schools must be adapted to the pupils they receive, so that compulsory schooling becomes a possibility;
  - the teaching must follow the lines of an educational programme worked out in collaboration with the groups concerned, if it is too much to ask that they should work it out for themselves. Dany Peto-Manso points out that "the projects and aspirations of the gypsies are different from those of the (non-gypsy) sedentary citizens" - an obvious fact that is often forgotten or sidetracked.



- c. In the living conditions and cultural context of the gypsy peoples, there has never been any particular preoccupation with schooling, except with its avoidance. Success, adaptation and social advancement were always independent of any scholastic process. We must understand that even today, in the gypsy view, failure at school is meaningless - or, when it does mean something, it is just the dramatic expression of yet another form of rejection. Since the gypsy child is unarmed for scholastic competition, it is cruel to throw him into the fray without preparation and without any support that will effectively strengthen his weaker points. Juan de Dios Ramirez Heredia has illustrated this by saying: "We prefer to be first-class gypsies rather than second-class Gadjes"
- d. Refusal to be integrated, which has been the gypsies' watchword for centuries and which has been constantly referred to by the gypsy participants, should induce teachers and their tutelary bodies to imagine school as something other than a means of integration and assimilation. Proper curricula - and a state of mind that concords with the dynamism of gypsy culture - should combine to prevent identity, the individual's safeguard and point of reference, from becoming a casus belli in a mismanaged school.

The environment as a determining factor in schooling

Another fact obvious to all - though we often forget to draw the right conclusions from it - is that school education cannot be isolated from its environment. Intercultural teaching depends on the intercultural nature of the surroundings. If it is to succeed, we are told, the child must be "recognised" by the non-gypsy world together with all his original features and specific virtues. Clearly, in the present case, between such a situation and reality there is a great gulf.

As long as camping conditions for the nomads, and housing for the others, are unacceptable, to say the least, any talk of teaching, and a fortiori intercultural teaching, is crying for the moon. Agnes Vranckx stressed this more than once: "mediocrity is the reflection of living conditions"; "the feeling, daily experienced, of a decent, hospitable welcome, more than any other consideration of an ethnic or psychological nature, would facilitate the lives of young Romanies, improve the company they keep and the welcome they receive at school, and enable them to continue their studies, which are vital to their future as a race". Dany Peto-Manso returns to this point several times and underlines the importance to young gypsies of their being enabled - notably through regulations - to engage in their chosen trades. Juan de Dios Ramirez Heredia often speaks of the gypsy's fear when meeting non-gypsies, his fear of every authority and especially the child's when facing the schoolmaster.

The cultural diversity of the gypsy groups, already mentioned, is reinforced by the diversity of their situation vis-à-vis their environment. The combination of these two factors again shows the need to eschew any generalisation, whether in analysing situations or in making proposals for their improvement.

Stereotypes and prejudices: their importance and how to reduce their effects

The images of gypsies currently held by the non-gypsy world are based on prejudices and stereotypes that essentially determine attitudes and behaviour towards them. In the matter of schooling,

- the mistaken image which may be in the teacher's mind will directly influence his teaching, so that it becomes non-adapted and misses its mark,

- the images carried in the minds of the non-gypsy children result in behaviour characterised by stigmatisation and rejection,

- the parents, conscious that such images exist at school, and mindful of their consequences, hesitate to send their children there, and the children themselves refuse to go.

In addition, it is certain that the school - inter alia through the use of particular documents (texts, drawings, photographs) which blacken or romanticise the image of the gypsy - is in great part responsible for creating or reproducing these stereotypes, sometimes reflected also in the kind of folklore manipulation to which they give rise under cover of intercultural events: dancing, cuisine, etc.

The gypsies can be effectively helped - and their schooling situation thereby changed for the better - if we succeed in correcting the image they continue to present to the surrounding populations. They must be rehabilitated by those same media which have tended, and still tend, to denigrate them (television, the press, books, exhibitions etc). The production of school textbooks designed to present the real nature of gypsy culture to non-gypsies is especially interesting (cf Sweden, Italy).

The fact that gypsy life is in reality extremely diverse necessitates an overall presentation aimed at publicising and understanding the spirit of gypsy culture and social organisation rather than entering into details of their life as a community. This much-needed approach is also a safeguard against any popularisation of intimate aspects of cultural life which the gypsies are not anxious to see cheapened.

Teacher-training

The reports by the study groups were very explicit on this subject. I shall refer to two points only:

- the training of gypsy teachers is considered by many participants here as a considerable improvement. If it is to become a reality, there is firstly a responsibility on the part of the gypsy organisations to help those who would like to teach, and secondly a need to obtain certain relaxations of administrative rules so that, at least during a transitional period, young gypsies may be allowed to teach without having necessarily followed the traditional training courses;

- during training, teachers must be taught how to acquire knowledge rather than spoon-fed with facts. This links up with Louis FORCHER's twofold warning in the study already quoted: "For instance, it is less important to accumulate facts about Portugal and the Portuguese than to acquire methodological tools that can be used to analyse not only Portugal and its inhabitants but also other foreign countries. Here, too, one must be wary of the opposite danger: one does not master methodologies without content".

The example set in Norway by the Levanger Teachers Training College shows that training courses must, and can, be planned in the light of a background situation involving not only the gypsy parents and their associations, but also all the teacher-trainees and the urban district concerned, not forgetting the wider audience captured by the mass media, and so providing a link between teacher-training and the information of the public. All these various forms of action call for much spade-work in the shape of research in sociology and pedagogics.

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the analyses, presented, and the discussions, summary reports and proposals of each study group, all participants in the seminar, considering:

- the precarious conditions attending the schooling of gypsy and nomad children,
- the importance of schooling to the cultural, social and economic future of such children,
- the legitimate demands of the gypsy and nomad peoples, anxious that their culture and its future be respected,
- the legitimate demands of the teachers, in particular as regards initial and further training and proper information,
- the conflictual nature of contacts between the gypsy and nomad peoples and the surrounding population,
- the magnitude and importance of the part played by the negative images attaching to these peoples, about whom many misconceptions still prevail,

### RECOMMEND, SO FAR AS SCHOOLING IS CONCERNED:

- that all appropriate action be taken to ensure initial and further training of teachers such as will imbue them with a pedagogical approach adapted to the children of cultural minorities,
- that the reception of gypsy and nomad children in ordinary schools - the present tendency of intercultural education - be always accompanied by adequate teacher-training and the adaptation of school curricula and structures,

- that the Romany language and culture be used and accorded the same respect as regional languages and cultures and those of other minorities,
- that links be forged between schools and gypsy families, in the interests of genuine participation,
- that gypsy teachers be granted priority in the teaching of gypsy children,
- that, in schools where gypsy children are numerous, the auxiliary staff include persons of gypsy culture,

#### FURTHER RECOMMEND

- that the dynamism and independence of gypsies and nomads be ensured through measures calculated to encourage the maintenance and expansion of economic activities acceptable to them,
- that states engage in a campaign - inter alia through the mass media - to diminish prejudices and stereotypes which convey an erroneous image of the gypsy and nomad peoples,
- that in each state a national group, composed of gypsies and nomads, representatives of the Ministry of Education and other parties concerned, prepare appropriate material for documentation and reflection and publicise it by all available means - teachers, training colleges, gypsy and non-gypsy associations, parents' associations, social workers, local authorities etc,
- that groups be set up at local level for purposes of mediation and concertation, composed of gypsies and nomads, teachers, social workers, representatives of local authorities etc; these would provide a forum for discussion and reflection among the various parties,
- that, as a general rule, all action of an educational and informative nature be worked out and implemented in consultation with the gypsies themselves, and be based on an accurate knowledge of the factual situation,

#### STRESS, IN CONCLUSION,

- that the reception of gypsy and nomad children by the schools is predetermined by the possibilities of proper caravan sites for nomadic people and decent housing for those who have become sedentary, and that the responsibility of the local and regional authorities in this matter should be drawn to their attention,



- that the Council of Europe can and should play an important role on behalf of the gypsy and nomad peoples, especially by reason of its opportunities for gathering and widely disseminating relevant information, by urging member states and the local and regional authorities to accord these peoples all the care and understanding to which they are entitled, and by sponsoring activities conducive to reflection, training, studies and research, in co-operation with other international institutions.

APPENDIX 1Preparatory outline for the seminar

The study groups' meetings took place in accordance with detailed suggestions put forward a month ahead by the director of the seminar. They were thus enabled to reflect on joint themes already prepared and thus to synthesise and discuss the various points of a heavy programme in spite of the shortage of time available for it.

A. - Schooling: description and analysis of the situation

- type of class, type of teaching, positive and negative aspects (what criteria to adopt?), children concerned ...,

- should classes in some cases have a specific status and, if so, in accordance with what criteria? (number of pupils, curriculum, training of teachers ...),

- special school/ordinary school: discussion of this is essential for clarification purposes. How far can the teaching in each case be described as "satisfactory", and what are the criteria for "satisfaction"?

- the Romany language: its use in school, identification of the difficulties of learning in a language other than the mother tongue ...,

- relations between the teachers and the pupils' parents,

- teaching material: what adaptations exist and would be desirable or even indispensable? To what extent is the children's own culture utilised and accorded its proper value?

B. - Gypsy culture and how to make the most of it

- teachers' knowledge - or lack of knowledge - of the children's culture ... With what elements should teachers be familiar?

- sedentary gypsies/nomadic gypsies: is this distinction pertinent to schooling? Are there any specific problems linked with sedentary or itinerant existence? What measures are needed to reconcile schooling with frequent travel? What has so far been done in that regard? How can the educational progress of itinerant children be followed up?

- the gypsy child's place in his family, and his place in the school,
- how is the school viewed by the child and his family?
- needs and options expressed by the parents.

C. - The environment: its determining effect on schooling

- political context and the aims of schooling,
- general regulations of the state concerned, rules on schooling and special rules, if any, on the schooling of gypsies and nomads. Analysis of the gap between regulation and practice: the rules may sometimes be more permissive than their practical application, or, contrariwise, the rules may in practice be infringed. Why?

- is it possible for a Romany dialect to be an optional subject in school and for certain examinations?

- local authorities: these are a determining factor, both indirect (availability of housing or caravan sites) - and direct (municipal responsibility for schools, varying from one state to another). What part do or could they play?

D. - Stereotypes and prejudices: their importance and the possibility of reducing their effects

- few peoples are more overburdened with stereotypes and prejudices than gypsies and nomads. What are the most widespread features of their manifestation?

- how do they impair the educational situation (relations between the pupils, between non-gypsy parents and the school attended by gypsy children ...)?

- image of gypsies and their children in the minds of teachers: consequences;

- how can we act to reduce the effects of such images?

E. - Teacher-training: present position and necessary changes

- initial training: how does it induce reflection and knowledge of cultural diversity? Does it ensure that cultural differences are taken into account, particularly in the case of gypsy children?

- does any form of specialised training exist?
- does in-service training allow of specialisation where needed?
- in all cases, who provides the training? What are the terms of admission? What is the programme for the course?

F. Résumé

In the light of the foregoing considerations,

- what type of information should be issued, for what public and by what means?
- what training is desirable for teachers (when and how, and in accordance with what programme?) etc,
- what elements of the environment, as a determining factor in schooling, may have to be changed?



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